

361 /29 cont./ A

538 legend from Tinnel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft
/The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940,
p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342/30/ Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," lbyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in Saksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341/184 Not only do the Saksawa build houses, but these houses are of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

[Iguntar]

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the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated the old ground with the help of the saints.

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A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat, leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here: They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

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The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of substantial exactitude. Their nine séguías and their five lkhs-s interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

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The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life, with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another taqbilt of the high mountains: the a: Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

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173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flourish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

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174 the ones going off toward the Atlas were not partisans, but refractory ones (1).

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1. Let us recall that this was often the case for montagnard societies likewise archaic. For example, in Spain, M. Legendre, Las Jurdes /Las Hurdes/, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

[184] In the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, our Seksawa would thus answer for the Idaw Semlal (2).

2. The Seksawa are, if I may venture to say so, I. Semlal turned about. What would we not give if this group, brought to our attention by so many indications by Justinard and R. Montagne, were to become the subject of a historical and sociological study!

● [538] Here, the cultural profusion, the richness in heroes of this /96/ world and of the other: minstrels, merchants, jurists, saints, dancers; a fecundity so conscious of itself that it leads to academism (1).

1. Cf. for example the veritable literary "séances" described by Justinard, "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes on Berber history and literature/, " Hesp., 1949, pp. 291-326. The ethnic Samlâf is extraordinarily frequent in the biographical collections concerning the doctors or saints of the Moroccan South, the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, for example.

There, on the contrary, a sullen reserve, an obstinate silence. From the end of the fifteenth century, the cadre of the Seksawa, becoming archaic, takes in the waste products and the

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539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now
that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

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2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anecd-
784 ote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural
plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly ex-
plains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is
thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine
day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd
animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the
whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind.
His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the
fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igermsuq, re-
animated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately up-
stream.

823 Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly re-
782 minds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the com-
munal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for ex-
ample, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the
vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one
word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereo-
typed term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by
comparing it with its factitive acifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid:
fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

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Ages offer several examples of the latter name (2).

2. Istiqa, A. M. tr. XXXII, 1927, p. 239. Here is an ^CAzzūna: Istiqa, A. M. XXXIII, p. 152. The epidemic of 1442 is called at Fès /Fez/ "the plague of ^CAzzūna" (ibid., p. 476). Bū ^CAzzūn is the name of a river near which /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Turks and Chérifiens /Sherifiens/ meet (Sources in., Esp., I, 1921, p. 206). Points on the Riffian littoral bear this name (Sources in., Fr., 2nd series, t. I, p. 123, n. 7, p. 127, n. 1). At Marrakech /Marrakesh/ there are a Lalla ^CAzzūna and a funduq of the same name.

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171 notably /296/ the "famous Ta^Cazzūnt," sister of an Almohade caliph. There is a Lalla ^CAzzūna at Marrakech. In contrast, the hagiological type is current. Moroccan tradition knows a number of saints, playing their role in the conflicts of the time. For example, an own daughter of Almohade Mahdī, or later, in the Sous at Issgdad, this H'awā'b. ^CAbd Allah, expert in uqūl (1).

1. Manāqib al-H'ud'aykī, t. I, p. 4. This "Eve" belongs to the cycle of Sidi Ah'med u Musa.

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171 As for the shepherd or shepherdess, her character stamped with the ambiguity of the 'sacred' -- lucky or unlucky, object of horror or of veneration -- is a universal theme, and notably Maghrebi and Mussulman. The flock which grazes without the shepherd's worrying about them is a common thing in the gilded legend: such as

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sidi Bubker of the Ahl Srif and many others (2).

2. Ibid., t. I, p. 155, l. 7 sq. On the magico-religious bibliography of the shepherd in the Maghreb. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 257, n. 37.

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Finally, the legend recorded by Brives suggests almost a rivalry between the high places, where the virgin is made champion, and the more moderate slopes of the pastoral life. The configuration of the site makes one think that there is some authenticity there: in the matter of high places, one immediately thinks here of the Tamjlocht, which dominates the scene, and remains today the theater of an annual rite. The religious context of the region and of the epoch is supplied sufficiently to explain the figure of Lalla Aziza. One evokes, for example, all the Magmûda saints that the Tachawwuf enumerates (3).

3. Ms. obligingly put at my disposal by G.-S. Colin.

Or also all these Regraga proselytes (4).

4. In the Moroccan S., the Regraga form "the solder," if I may venture to say it, between two prophetic cycles: that of Jesus and that of Mahomet. Disciples of the first, H'awwariyûn, they are almost the "baptists" of the second, whom they announce and whom they go to seek from the time of the beginnings of his mission. Their personality fluctuates between a confreric qualification and an ethnic qualification. Cf. concerning them R. Montagne, who has the merit of linking them to the Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère

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[539] -- "Drive these visions from the depths of your being," he told me.

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[71]) In general, the form taken by this communication with the beyond is that of millenarianistic prediction. Indeed, this old theme, so familiar to Semitic societies -- but to many others as well -- is very common in the Moroccan South. In Seksawa itself, it gives rise to many compositions, very obscurely contrived, according to the rules peculiar to this genre of literature, in a Chleuh /Shluh/ language, mixed with scholarly phrases, and which Arabic writing renders very improperly.

One of these texts, for example, originating from the archives of the rebel amghar, goes back to an ancient and tumultuous epoch: that of the al-Hiba movement. In violent language the writer predicts obscure but terrible calamities on all the chiefs of the Dir, and notably on the great Mtuggi, "this dog." "You, Aguzzal" (1),

1. Minor chief of the a. Daud, fourrier of the Mtugga on the side of the mountains.

Between the traditions of millenarianism and the political opposition from time to time assuming the appearance of a "master of the hour," the bond is close and constant. Ch. Richard, apropos Algerian events, Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846) /Study on the Insurrection of the Dahra (1845-1846)/, 1846, 85 sq., analyzes with finesse the social psychology /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ of the mûl s-sâ'a. In the Moroccan S. many of these traditions have for foyer the ribât of Massat, R. Montagne, "Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain: Massat /A Berber tribe of the Moroccan South: Massat/," Hesp., 1924, p. 364. Even quite recently a curious conjunction of these traditions with Islamic purism has been

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/footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t't'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../" *Hesp.*, 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârdsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-^cAynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee
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776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

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176 archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individualism. It has driven back into the background, on the other hand, although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classificatory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Generator of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a. Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

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● (538) But everything has become a notarial affair. The village r't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expression such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have become a library of charters, and all this literature has even known there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

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178 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand, only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations, such archives can restore, across several centuries, the permanence of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four centuries in the acts called inqâf, "repressive tariffication," but in which we can already observe that they express a right, not gentilitial, but communal.

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565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, particularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous
563 and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaidis or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

still without being completely lost in the "amma." In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or craftsmen, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "amma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

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[212] easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vocabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

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538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ /53/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" --

[534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets.

[533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship; the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed [181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbérie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

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/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

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XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

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[578] South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

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In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

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[538] In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

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